4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

555 ta for minor saints. He alternates between
624 a period of activity and expense and one of
794 quiet and economic recovery. The cargos alternate between church positions and civil government positions, but in communities where Indian tradition is stressed, there is no clear-cut division between civil and religious matters, because of the influence of the sacred and supernatural in daily life.

554 Those functionaries who have a staff of
624 office wield great influence in their calpul.
293 This cane (*nabté*), a sign of important status, is made of pine or other fine wood, and has a silver handle adorned with colored ribbons, primarily yellow, green, and red. The staff is ornamented by the owner and is considered a family object, usually placed [708] on the home altar. Occasionally it is the [782] object of prayers and offerings of incense. People carrying it are called *bastonudos*.

624 It is the duty of the staff-carriers to com-
627 municate to every paraje the orders of the ayuntamiento and those coming from the supreme chief of the calpul; to summon people for communal duties; to apprehend prisoners in cases of crime, and to deal with public problems such as taxation and epidemics. Coping with transgressions such as minor stealing, adultery, disputes, and intrigues are also their responsibility within the paraje, following the traditional form of procuring mutual understanding on both sides, in a calm atmosphere, around a bottle [692] of liquor. If conflict persists, those involved appear before chiefs of the calpul, who are called principales or "cabildos de justicia" even after they have finished their term of office.

794 The cargos from dzunubil on up are sacred and are open only to people with superior knowledge, recognized moral status, and expert experience in church ritual and in the semi-pagan ceremonies practiced in the caves, waterholes, and special mountains. These cargos are thus obtained not by automatic advancement but by special merits which are usually not acquired until advanced age. All such high representatives of

[P 220-B]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenejapa

shorts are also usually embroidered in red and yellow. The chief had such a pair, very fine and gaudy, which we asked to see. He took them off to show us, but when we tried to buy them from him he became furiously angry and abusive. Sandals, when worn, are of the ordinary type. Most of the Indians carry a staff of some kind.

The women wear the typical blue skirt, but the blouse, cut like a poncho, is usually tucked inside and heavily embroidered about the neck and shoulders. This work takes a long time, and the finished blouses are valued very highly. When worn outside they nearly cover the skirts, which are just knee length. Red sashes with a yellow stripe from Tapachula, of the kind worn also around Ocosingo, bind the skirts at the waist. Hair is done in two braids with dark red ribbon, or tied up in a knot over the forehead as at Cancuc.

FIG. 230—Tenejapa, Chis. Indians in the street.

Men and women alike wear cheap, gay-coloured necklaces, usually rosaries.

The Indians move with great freedom through the town and lounge in company with the Ladinos on the broad porch of the Town Hall. The officials are distinguished by silver-headed canes with black tassels. In lieu of a Maestro, they are directly under the Ladino *Presidente Municipal*, and their disputes are tried by the local judge. Their lawsuits have a mediaeval air, carried on publicly with great clamor on the Town Hall porch, and all concerned speaking with the utmost freedom. A breach of promise case was observed in the course of trial. It went on for at least two hours with never less than two Indians, usually women, speaking at once. One could not but admire the patience of the rather bored and indifferent judge.

The cargadores from Cancuc arrived shortly after dark, still lively despite the long day and steep climb. More remarkable still,

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

3. Categories of role-bearers sit and act together in all the domains. In the home the me?eletik, the nakawanchetik, and the b'alnialetik have established seats and act in concert. Similarly in the cabildo, four ranks of officials, the principales, judges, regidores, and police, move and act together. In the church, elder and younger mayordomos move in pairs of two.

4. Sexual segregation is present in the home, the church, and the cabildo, but is lacking in the school. This rejection of the community standard for a group situation was the basis for some parents holding their children out of school until coerced by the federal authorities backed by the local officials.

5. Attendance in all domains involves coercion as well as voluntary action. Coercion is most marked in the school, but resistance by the parents to forced attendance and mixing of the sexes is fast wearing down in this domain. In the cabildo, the defendant is required to attend the court hearing and may even be jailed if he does not pay the fines charged against him. Coercion is covert in the home; the lack of alternative housing arrangements makes residence in the household of orientation or of procreation mandatory.

6. Sacred symbols are present in all the domains. The symbols of the cabildo and of the school relate the community to the nation with the national flags and the portraits of the president. The canes of office which are assumed as each official acquires office are symbols of local authority. The universalistic symbols of the church—the saints images, portraits, and banners—are acquired from Catholic orthodoxy, but have been encapsulated with local sentiments and beliefs. Sacred symbols are treated with respect and avoidance, both in the church and the home. The "holy cross" or banners are touched only with sacred embroidered cloths binding the hands of those who carry them. Saints' images are kissed, but as a mark of respect, not intimacy. The Mexican flag, with which less awe is associated, is saluted.

Each of the domains provides a setting for the recognition and validation of authority figures in the community. Values which are communally shared or imposed from outside are formally instilled in these settings. Ex-

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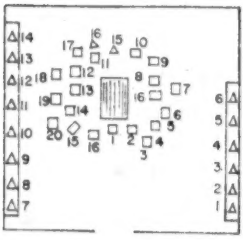

CHART 7 — TOWNHALL, NEW YEAR'S DAY, TAKING OATH OF OFFICE (ELICITED)

OLD OFFICIALS (triangles):

1 First principal
2 Second principal
3 Elder past alférez
4 Remaining past alférez
5 Third past alférez
6 Junior alférez
7 First judge
8 Second judge
9 Third judge
10 Fourth judge
11 First regidor
12 Second regidor
13 Third regidor
14 Fourth regidor
15 President
16 Síndico

NEW OFFICIALS (squares):

1 President
2 Síndico
3 First judge
4 Second judge
5 Third judge
6 Fourth judge
7 First regidor
8 Second regidor
9 Third regidor
10 Fourth regidor
11 First police *(Ahk'olnantik)*
12 Second police *(Ahk'olnantik)*
13 Third police *(Ahk'olnantik)*
14 Fourth police *(Ahk'olnantik)*
15 Last police *(Ahk'olnantik)*
16 First police *(Alannantik)*
17 Second police *(Alannantik)*
18 Third police *(Alannantik)*
19 Fourth police *(Alannantik)*
20 Fifth police *(Alannantik)*

NOTE: Canes of office are on table near center of room.

[P. 219-B]

as a team. Thus the junior *(niš'anil)* and senior *(tatil)* officials walk and sit in pairs. The senior officials order the junior. Just as in the case of the civil officials, some junior mayordomos may be younger than others who are in lower positions, because they have passed in the lower offices at an earlier age, but all senior mayordomos are older than their paired juniors.

Another important structural feature that became apparent in the behavioral schedules is the household base establishing the officeholders' position in both hierarchies. The new official learns his role obligations from the *nakawanchetik*, the group of elders

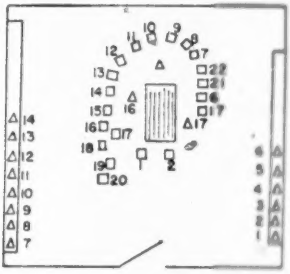

CHART 8 — INSIDE THE TOWNHALL, NEW YEAR'S DAY, TAKING THE OATH (OBSERVED)

Old officials are indicated by triangles, new officials by squares. Numbers refer to list on Chart 7. Three officials—the old secretary (17) and two new rural judges (21 and 22)—were not listed in the elicited session, Chart 7. Canes of office are on the table near the center of the room. Numbers refer to role terms in Chart 7.

who assemble in his house and who will assist him in his period in office. The ceremony in the house establishes this as a significant domain in public affairs. Relatives, neighbors, and compadres make up the interlocking network of supporters in the setting of the household. Both husband's and wife's relatives are symmetrically represented (Chart 3; see also J. Nash, 1964b, report on alferez assistants). Because of the expenses and the commitment of time during the period of office, the officials must have this backing to fulfill their obligations. A man with many compadres and godchildren has a firmer base to support his career in office. In the case of the new president, this was mentioned as an important asset by the president's brother. The guest list (Charts 3, 4) reveals the multiple references which establish the individual's role during any event.

[P. 220-A]

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo?ontahal

The degree of integration of the civil and religious wings of the hierarchy can be described behaviorally. The following acts (App. 1) indicate this structural feature. 621* 794 182

Q. 24. The civil officials kneel and "measure their noses" as they enter the townhall in deference to the banners. [788]

Q. 27. Sacred objects, such as the holy banners of the *kobrarias*, are present on the table in the townhall as the officers take the oath of office. Officials carry rosaries as they accept oath and wear them in the procession to the church. [778]

Q. 28. The alfereces are present in the townhall to witness the ceremony. As bearers of the four major saints of the town, their role is primarily defined in a religious context.

Q. 41. Officials go to the church immediately following their procession in the plaza to pray for health to carry out their responsibilities. [782]

Q. 48. The religious officials are present in church on New Year's day to witness the arrival of new officials of the civil wing.

The alfereces link the two wings of the hierarchy in the following acts: 794 182

Q. 36. They carry the sacred banners to the townhall on the day of the inauguration.

Chart 9. They lead the parade of new officials of the civil wing.

Q. 28. They witness ("look at") the inauguration of the civil officials in the townhall.

Q. 36. In emerging from the townhall, they bow and incline their banners first before the townhall, then before the church. [788]

In the inauguration of the religious officials the only act uniting officials of the two wings of the hierarchies is that of counting the money (App. 2, Q. 90) when the town treasurer and síndico assist the church officials. The integration of the civil and religious wings in Tzo?ontahal is asymmetrical. The church officials as a group are involved in the civil inauguration, but the civil officials are only peripherally involved in the religious inauguration. 621* 794 182 [624]

Another behavioral basis for stating the dimensions of the civil and religious integration is found in the replication of symbols and acts in each inauguration. In taking the oath, the term *yič huramentu* is used in both settings. The staff as symbol of civil office has its counterpart in the candles handed over to the mayordomos. In both ceremonies, officials of the townhall and of the church wear red kerchiefs and carry rosaries when receiving the oath of office. 621* 794 182 782 788 [641] [292] [293]

Replication of behavior in both civil and religious 000

[P. 220—B]

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo?ontabal

ing "what our mothers and fathers did" (App. 1, Q. 19; App. 2, Q. 37, Q. 64). Second, continuity can be seen in the presence of both old and new officials in the townhall. In this setting, the old officials acknowledge acceptance of the new officials (App. 1, Q. 28). Finally, of greatest importance in establishing continuity are the principales, who await the arrival of the new officials with the old officials (App. 1, Q. 28) who pass over the symbol of authority (App. 1, Q. 31), and who remain alone in the townhall for the return of the new officials, when they have gone to church.

2. *Role commitment.* The officials are members of closed corporate communities, integrated in a prior set of kinship and other social relations. They cannot rely on anonymity when acting in their official capacity as judge or policeman. Thus one of the functions of the inauguration as a rite of passage is a disengagement from the preexisting network of obligations and a commitment to the obligations of the office (cf. Parsons, 1951, pp. 80–84; Gluckman, 1962, p. 34; Cancian, 1964). Behaviorally, this function is indicated in the unfailing use of the term *Mam* (elder respect term) in both address and reference. The reference to the holy nature of their task (App. 1, Q. 19) and of the symbol of their authority, the "holy" staff (App. 1, Q. 30) which they always carry when discharging an official errand, establishes the supernatural authority on which the role is based. The effectiveness of these symbolic role identities in neutralizing prior affective commitments can partially be judged in that most dispute cases are brought before the local courts rather than referred to higher courts, suggesting that the complainant expects fair treatment.

3. *Role learning.* The inauguration provides a setting in which the individual who is about to assume office learns what is expected of him (cf. Fortes, 1962, p. 82). The instruction of the novice officeholder is acquired most importantly in the home from the speeches of the *nakawanehetik* and cofrades (App. 1, Q. 19; App. 2, Q. 37, Q. 38, Q. 64) and in the directions he may be given in the ceremonial setting (App. 2, Q. 39, observation).

4. *Introduction of new officeholders to the villagers.* The new status of the officeholders is made

[P. 227-8]